FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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FOI/PA# 1517556-000

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the SCLC at [redacted] on December 5, 1962, at the St. John's A.M.E. Church. He said that Dr. KING's address there was a highly professional piece of oratorical artistry which succeeded in building up a highly emotional attitude on the part of the audience, comparable to the heights of emotion evident at a hotly contested rivalry-type football game. PAINTER stated Reverend RALPH D. ABERNATHY's attitude is increasingly militant. In his recent speeches, he has called for increased public demonstrations of every kind. b6 b7C

Lieutenant PAINTER stated that he understands that Dr. KING and his party returned to Atlanta, Georgia, on December 8, 1962, after a meeting at Selma, Alabama, on that date.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

information copy each is furnished Chicago and Springfield because one individual, CHARLES FORBES was described by Lt. PAINTER as being from somewhere in [redacted] He stated he believed but was not sure the individual is from [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

Close liaison was maintained with racial informants in the Montgomery, Ala., vicinity during the week of 12/3-9/62 and it was learned from [redacted] on 12/7/62 and [redacted] on 12/8/62 that United Klans of America, Inc., KKKK, was not exhibiting any interest in the Negro meetings, or in the travels of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. [redacted] advised on 12/6/62 that a similar disinterest was exhibited by the National States Rights Party, Montgomery, Alabama Chapter. It is pointed out that the Annual Institute on Non-violence and Social Change is an annual event at Montgomery, and thus far klan organizations have not exhibited any interest in these meetings.

ADMINISTRATIVE

Based on information indicating the conclusion of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.'s tour of Alabama on 12/8/62 and his return to Atlanta, Ga., as well as information from Lt. PAINTER relating to the character and activities of this tour, Mobile is placing the case entitled "Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Racial Matters" in an RUC status.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Mobile, Alabama
December 11, 1962

RACIAL SITUATION
STATE OF ALABAMA
RACIAL MATTERS

Annual Institute on Non-violence and Social Change

On December 10, 1962, Lieutenant WILLIE B. PAINTER, Investigator, Alabama State Department of Public Safety, Montgomery, Alabama, furnished a booklet captioned "Program, Seventh Anniversary and The Annual Institute on Non-violence and Social Change," sponsored by the Montgomery Improvement Association, Inc., 712 Dorsey Street, Montgomery 8, Alabama, December 3-9, 1962. When referred to hereinafter, this booklet will be referred to as the "program".

Lieutenant PAINTER also furnished a leaflet captioned "Be Exposed to the Inspiration of the Annual Institute on Non-violence and Social Change sponsored by the MIA, December 3-9, 1962." When referred to hereinafter, this leaflet will be referred to as the "leaflet".

Lieutenant PAINTER advised also on December 10, 1962, that during the period December 3-9, 1962, he covered portions of the Annual Institute on Non-violence and Social Change for the purpose of developing information for the Department of Public Safety. In those cases hereinafter in which information is attributed neither to a "program" or the "leaflet", the information will be from Lieutenant PAINTER'S investigation, unless otherwise stated.

Meetings of the Annual Institute on Non-violence and Social Change (Institute) were held as follows, according to the program:

157-6-61—148

ENCLOSURE

RACIAL SITUATION
STATE OF ALABAMA

Date	Place
December 3, 1962	Mount Zion A.M.E. Zion Church, Montgomery, Alabama
December 4, 1962	Maggie Street Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama
December 5, 1962	Holt Street Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama
December 6, 1962	Bethel Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama
December 7, 1962	Hutchinson Street Baptist Church Montgomery, Alabama
December 8, 1962	Saint John A.M.E. Church Montgomery, Alabama
December 9, 1962	Old Ship A.M.E. Zion Church Montgomery, Alabama

Attendance at all meetings was observed to be the full capacity of the church where the meeting was held, so that the attendance varied between 150 and 350 persons.

According to the program, speakers at the meetings included Reverend N. H. SMITH of [redacted] Reverend E. FRANKLIN JACKSON, Pastor of the John Wesley A.M.E. Zion Church, [redacted] Reverend SOLOMON S. SEAY, SR., President of the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA), Dr. MARTIN L. KING, JR., President Emeritus I of the MIA, presently of Atlanta, Georgia, Dr. DANIEL WEBSTER WYNN, Tuskegee Institute, [redacted] and Dr. W. G. ANDERSON, President, Albany Movement, [redacted]

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Lieutenant PAINTER stated he observed the following developments in attitudes expressed by the speakers and evidently reflected also by the audiences at these meetings:

RACIAL SITUATION
STATE OF ALABAMA

(1) Intensified race consciousness - advice by speakers to trade with Negroes whenever possible and encourage Negro industries and businesses, and emphatic repetition of the theme "You can't deal with the white man; he doesn't respect you; he will take advantage of you."

(2) Modification of the view of the white public official not as a villain to be criticized but as a person to be used to the advantage of the Negro people by appropriately appealing to logical motivation.

(3) Total integration as an ultimate aim, replacing an earlier prevalent aim of equal facilities and fair treatment.

(4) An increasingly professionalized approach to political activities, including systematic analysis of political opportunities and systematic deployment and utilization of available assets and advantages.

Lieutenant PAINTER made the point that at the "workshop" on "political action in the freedom struggle" led by Mr. RUFUS A. LEWIS of [redacted] on December 8, 1962, it was evident that a highly efficient apparatus was in the process of being organized to bring about a greatly increased enrollment of Negro voters, a higher degree of organization of the block vote, and a greater utilization of all political advantages. b6 b7C

Lieutenant PAINTER stated that he expected the following organizational activities to begin in the immediate future as a result of this institute on non-violence and social change:

(1) A selective buying program, characterized by Negroes purchasing commodities from Negro merchants, and in some few instances positively boycotting certain businesses suspected or believed to have a definitely antagonistic attitude toward the MIA.

(2) A mass voter registration program in Montgomery, Alabama. Dr. KING in his speech called for the registration of 200 Negro voters per day at Montgomery, beginning December 10, 1962. (Present at the Montgomery County Courthouse on other

business on December 10, 1962, a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed approximately 25 Negroes standing in line at the office of the Board of Registrars of Montgomery County on the morning of December 10, 1962.)

(3) An intensified boycott of white merchants at Gadsden, Alabama.

(4) An increased use of pressure block political tactics, characterized by a systematic program of writing letters to congressmen, careful scrutiny and publication of voting records of congressmen, and widest possible publication of endorsement of political candidates where appropriate or censure of candidates where that is appropriate.

The "program" lists the following personnel, including their part played in the Annual Institute on Non-violence and Social Change and/or official position in the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA):

Name	Position and/or Activity
Reverend RALPH B. ABERNATHY	President Emeritus II, MIA, Executive Board Member, MIA
Dr. W. G. ANDERSON	President of Albany Movement, [redacted] b6 b7C speaker at the meeting December 9, 1962, the institute.
Mrs. L. M. ARRINGTON	Member, Finance Committee, MIA Montgomery Improvement Association
Reverend B. M. AVERHART	Scripture, meeting of December 4, 1962
Mrs. INEZ J. BASKIN	Member, Publicity Committee, MIA Montgomery Improvement Association
Reverend R. L. BEVERLY	Benediction, December 4, 1962, meeting

RACIAL SITUATION
STATE OF ALABAMA

Members of The Montgomery Improvement Association

Name	Position and/or Activity
Reverend RALPH BINION	Executive Board Member, MIA
E. M. BLAIR	Executive Board Member, MIA
GEORGE BOOKER	Workshop contributor, December 8, 1962 (leaflet describes GEORGE BOOKER as Field Director, AFL-CIO)
Mrs. OLIVIA BOYD	Member, Finance Committee, MIA
Mr. OWEN BUTLER	Member, Institute Committee and member of Luncheon Committee, MIA
Mrs. JOHNNIE R. CARR	Second vice-president and Executive Board member of MIA, member of the Institute Committee and Chairman of the Luncheon Committee, MIA. Mrs. CARR also presented the president at the meeting 12/5/62.
Mr. JAMES CHAMBLISS	Member of Finance Committee, MIA
Mrs. SEPTIMA CLARK	Workshop contributor, 12/8/62 (Leaflet describes Mrs. CLARK as being of the SCLC - Southern Christian Leadership Conference - [redacted])
P. E. CONLEY	Executive Board member, MIA
Reverend JOHN CROSS	Leader, Workshop #2, "The Church and its Responsibility in the Struggle for Freedom", 12/8/62 (Leaflet describes CROSS as being of [redacted])

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Members of the Montgomery Improvement Association

RACIAL SITUATION
STATE OF ALABAMA

Name	Position and/or Activity
EARL W. DAVIS	Workshop contributor, 12/8/62 (Leaflet describes EARL W. DAVIS as Field Director, AFL - CIO.)
Mrs. FANNIE P. DOAK	Executive Board member, MIA and member of Luncheon Committee
Reverend JESSE DOUGLASS	Delivered prayer, 12/9/62 meeting
Mrs. ERNA A. DUNGEE	Financial secretary and treasurer, MIA, Executive Board member of MIA, and member of Institute Committee and member of Finance Committee. Delivered financial appeal at the meeting 12/7/62.
Reverend H. H. EATON	Executive Board member, MIA and member of Institute Committee. Delivered scripture reading 12/3/62.
CHARLES P. FORBES	Leader of Workshop #4, "Race Relations and Non-violence", 12/8/62 (Lt. PAINTER believes Mr. FORBES is from [redacted] b6 b7C
Mrs. ESSIE GARRISON	Member of Luncheon Committee, MIA
Mrs. GEORGIA GILMORE	Executive Board member, MIA, and member of Luncheon Committee
Mrs. HAZEL R. GREGORY	Office secretary, MIA. Delivered financial appeal at meeting 12/9/62
Reverend W. E. HARRIS	Presiding over the workshops on 12/8/62.
Reverend W. H. HARRIS	Executive Board member, MIA; delivered devotional 12/8/62.

RACIAL SITUATION
STATE OF ALABAMA

Name	Position and/or Activity
Reverend W. L. HERTZFELD (Leaflet spells it Reverend W. L. HERZFELD)	Presiding over meeting 12/7/62 (Leaflet describes Reverend HERZFELD as being from [redacted] b6 b7C
Reverend A. H. HOFFMAN	Delivered prayer on meeting 12/7/62
Reverend A. H. HOGANS	Delivered prayer at meeting 12/4/62
Miss PRINCE ELLA HOWARD	Involved in panel discussion 12/7/62
Reverend H. H. HUBBARD	Executive Board member, MIA and member of Finance Committee and member of Institute Committee; presided at meeting 12/4/62 and delivered benediction at meeting 12/6/62.
Reverend E. FRANKLIN JACKSON	Pastor, John Wesley A.M.E. Zion Church, [redacted] speaker, meeting 12/4/62 and delivered sermons at meetings 12/5,6/62. b6 b7C
Mr. WALTER JETER	Member of Finance Committee, MIA
Reverend NORMAN JIMERSON	Leader of Workshop #1, "Economic Aspect of the Freedom Struggle", 12/8/62
Reverend H. H. JOHNSON	Executive Board member, MIA, and member of Institute Committee; presided over meeting 12/6/62 and delivered benediction at meeting 12/7/62.

Members of the Montgomery Improvement Association

RACIAL SITUATION
STATE OF ALABAMA

Name	Position and/or Activity
Reverend W. R. JOHNSON	Executive Board member, MIA
Mr. W. D. JONES	Member of Finance Committee, MIA, delivered financial appeal 12/6/62
Mrs. IDA KAHN	Member of Luncheon Committee, MIA
Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. Martin L. King Jr.	President Emeritus I, MIA, Executive Board member of MIA, and speaker at the meeting 12/7/62.
Reverend B. D. LAMBERT	Executive Board member, MIA
Reverend BERNARD LEE	Workshop contributor, 12/8/62 (Leaflet describes BERNARD LEE as of SCLC, [redacted] b6 b7C
RUFUS A. LEWIS	Executive Board member and member of Institute Committee of MIA. Leader of Workshop #3, "Political Action in the Freedom Struggle", 12/8/62
Mrs. JIMMY LOWE	Executive Board member, MIA
Reverend E. H. MASON	Member of Publicity Committee, MIA; delivered scripture reading at the meeting 12/6/62.
Reverend S. P. McBRIDE	Delivered prayer at meeting, 12/6/62
Reverend ALBERT McCORVEY	Delivered scripture reading at meeting 12/9/62
Reverend CHARLES MITCHELL	Delivered scripture reading 12/5/62

Mail to CG the Memphis Agency - Implement Association

RACIAL SITUATION
STATE OF ALABAMA

Name	Position and/or Activity
Mrs. GLADYS MOORE	Member of Luncheon Committee, MIA
FANNIE L. NEAL	Member of Executive Board of MIA and workshop contributor 12/8/62.
ROBERT D. NESBITT	Chairman of Finance of MIA, Executive Board member, MIA; delivered financial appeal at the meeting 12/3/62.
E. D. NIXON	Executive Board member, MIA
Reverend J. E. NOBLE	Delivered prayer, 12/3/62 meeting.
Reverend H. J. PALMER	Secretary MIA, Chaplain MIA, Executive Board member and member of Institute Committee of MIA; presided at the 12/3/62 meeting.
NATHANIEL PATTILO	Of [redacted] involved in panel discussion 12/7/62.
Miss ETHEL PAYNE	Workshop contributor 12/8/62 (Leaflet describes Miss PAYNE as Deputy Field Director, National Democratic Committee.)
Reverend MATHEW PETWAY	Executive Board member, MIA
Mr. JAMES E. PIERCE	Executive Board member, MIA
Reverend W. J. POWELL	First Vice-president, MIA, Executive Board member, MIA, Institute Chairman, and presided over workshops 12/8/62.
Mrs. NANCY ROBINSON	Member of the Institute Committee and member of the Luncheon Committee, MIA

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RACIAL SITUATION
STATE OF ALABAMA

Name	Position and/or Activity
Reverend S. W. SCHULTZ	Executive Board member of MIA, member of the Institute Committee, member of the Finance Committee, presided over the meeting 12/5/62 and delivered the benediction at meeting 12/3/62.
Reverend SOLOMON S. SAEY, SR.	President of MIA, presided over meeting 12/9/62, gave the annual president's address 12/5/62, and introduced speakers at meetings 12/3,4/62.
Mr. DAVID SIPPIAL	Executive Board member, MIA and member of the Finance Committee; delivered financial appeal at the meeting 12/4/62.
Mrs. MARY JO SMILEY	Toastmistress 12/8/62 at the session "Reports from Workshops".
Reverend N. H. SMITH	Of [redacted] speaker at meeting 12/3/62.
TINSLEY L. SPRAGGINS	Workshop contributor 12/8/62 (Leaflet describes Mr. SPRAGGINS as Field Director, AFL - CIO, Program describes SPRAGGINS as member of National Democratic Committee.) b6 b7C
Mr. GEORGE STEVENS	Member of Finance Committee of MIA, delivered financial appeal at meeting 12/5/62.
Reverend N. W. STEVENSON	Of [redacted] delivered scripture reading 12/7/62. Rev. STEVENSON scheduled to speak over radio station WRMA during week 12/3-9/62 in connection with "The Spiritual Emphasis of Our Institute".

RACIAL SITUATION
STATE OF ALABAMA

Name	Position and/or Activity
FRED TAYLOR	Panel discussion leader in the topic "Youth in Its Role in the Struggle for Freedom" 12/7/62. Also introduced speaker 12/7/62.
Dr. JEFFERSON UNDERWOOD	Executive Board member of MIA and member of the Finance Committee. Introduced speaker 12/9/62.
Mrs. A. W. WEST	Presentation of guest 12/9/62. Member of the Institute Committee.
Mrs. IRENE A. WEST	Executive Board member of MIA; member of Luncheon Committee.
Mrs. IDESSA WILLIAMS	Member of Executive Board of MIA and member of Publicity Committee.
Reverend LARRY WILLIAMS	Delivered benediction at meeting 12/9/62.
Reverend A. L. WILSON	Delivered prayer at meeting 12/5/62.
Reverend A. W. WILSON	Executive Board member of MIA, member of Institute Committee; delivered benediction at meeting 12/5/62.
Dr. DANIEL WEBSTER WYNN	Of Tuskegee Institute; speaker at meeting 12/8/62.
Reverend ANDREW YOUNG	Workshop contributor 12/8/62 (Leaflet describes Rev. YOUNG as being of the SCLC, [redacted]

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Lieutenant PAINTER advised that at the meeting of December 7, 1962, ANN BRADEN, also known as Mrs. CARL BRADEN, a Field Secretary for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, (SCEF), attended the meeting and delivered a brief address to the meeting.

RACIAL SITUATION
STATE OF ALABAMA

ALBERTA AHEARN, [redacted] b6 b7C self-admitted former member of the Communist Party, on December 11 and 13, 1957, in her testimony in [redacted] Court in the prosecution of ANNE BRADEN, under a state sedition statute, testified that ANNE BRADEN was known to her as a member of the Communist Party, USA, in [redacted] from January, 1951 to December, 1954, the period of AHEARN's membership.

The Communist Party, USA, has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

People to People Campaign of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Lieutenant PAINTER stated that at a recent meeting of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) at Nashville, Tennessee, a board member of that organization used the phrase "Non-violent Army" to describe the kind of mass movement which the SCLC hopes to build. The "People to People" tour of Alabama by Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. is an implementation of that aim, according to Mr. PAINTER. PAINTER stated that Dr. KING hopes to recruit a "non-violent army" to stage public demonstrations against segregation in public places. The aspect on "people" signifies the broadening of the base of SCLC operations to include the masses of the Negro people in this struggle. Dr. KING hopes to recruit many more people to take part in public demonstrations and to volunteer to deliberately violate those state laws of the segregation character which the SCLC wishes to challenge in the courts on the basis of constitutionality. To that end, Dr. KING and Reverend ABERNATHY visited SCLC chapters throughout the state during the period December 3-8, 1962.

Lieutenant PAINTER stated that a particularly active program is being prepared for [redacted] Reverend WYATT TEE WALKER, a first assistant to Dr. KING, is believed to be spending much time in [redacted] assisting the local leadership there, particularly Reverend JETER, in organizing various projects, including a boycott of white merchants in [redacted] who oppose the SCLC. PAINTER stated he attended the meeting of b6 b7C

DATE: 12/11/62

AIRTEL AIRMAIL

Agency G-2, ONI, CSI, CRD

Date Forw. 12/18/62

How Forw. R/S

By RBL:pk

1 2 CCs org. unit

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MOBILE (100-1342)

SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION
STATE OF ALABAMA
RACIAL MATTERS

Enclosed herewith are copies of a letterhead memorandum pertaining to captioned matter.

Copies are being disseminated locally to armed service intelligence agencies.

Contact was maintained during the week of 12/3-9/62 with Lt. WILLIE B. PAINTER, NA, Alabama Dept. of Public Safety, and with representatives of the Montgomery Police Department.

Lt. PAINTER advised also on 12/10/62 that ROBERT M. ADAMS, a civilian employee of the Air Force at [redacted] attended several of the meetings. Lt. PAINTER stated he personally furnished this information to [redacted] and has been advised by a representative of that organization that they are inquiring into the background of Mr. ADAMS. b6 b7C

Information copies are furnished to Atlanta, Birmingham, and WFO because of statements in the letterhead memo pertaining to persons residing within those division areas. One

EX-108

157-6-61-148

REC-58

13 DEC 14

(3) - Bureau (Encs. 8)(RM)
2 - Atlanta (Info)(Encs. 2)(RM)
2 - Birmingham (Info)(Encs. 2)(RM)
1 - Chicago (Info)(Enc. 1)(RM)
1 - Springfield (Info)(Enc. 1)(RM)
2 - WFO (Info)(Encs. 2)(RM)
4 - Mobile (2 - 100-1342)
(1 - 44-439)
(1 - 157-192)

WED/pr
(15)

67 JAN 4 1963

C C - WFO

Info P9 11

COAKLEY FORSYTH UNK

D-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 5/8/67

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (Priority)

55, 15, OEO, CRS

Agency G-2, ONI, OSI, CRD, CRM),

Date Forw. 5/17/67

How Forw. RS

By dap/bjn none destroyed

1 - RACIAL UNIT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MOBILE (157-570)(P)

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
~~MOBILE~~ DIVISION
RM RACIAL MATTERS

Reference is made to Bureau airtel, 4/6/67.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of LHM which will supplement LHM submitted under date of 5/12/66. The cities covered in this annual LHM are Mobile, Montgomery and Selma, Ala. Copies of the LHM are disseminated locally to USA, Mobile and USA, Montgomery, and intelligence agencies.

Close contact is being maintained with racial informants and sources, including appropriate law enforcement officials, and any information indicating the possibility of outbreak of racial violence will be promptly brought to the attention of the Bureau.

Of the three locations reported on in the enclosed LHM, only one has any reported KKK activity, that being Montgomery, Ala. Mobile has had good informant coverage of Klan activity in the Montgomery area, and the Police Department has exercised a close watch over potential explosive situations, preventing the Klan from engaging in any recent major assaults upon Negroes.

EX-102

(3) Bureau (Enc. 11)(RM)
2 - Mobile
JTB:agf
(5)

ENCLOSURE

REC-35 157-6-61-1457

17 MAY 11 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 6-17-87 BY 278.746

62 JUN 5 1967

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

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education and equal housing, and equal and fair treatment in the state and local courts. The area of employment was still of great importance, but seems to take somewhat a lesser degree of importance.

Reaction Of Leaders And Members Of The Community To Minority Demands:

Those individuals contacted stated that no problems of a serious magnitude have developed in the various phases of integration in this city. Some pointed out that Montgomery schools have had the freedom of choice for students, and that they can select the school of their choice, which has served to eliminate some of the serious problems. The real tests will come this fall, according to some interviewed. There has been some objections on the part of some organizations, principally the klan, but the police department has moved swiftly and effectively in preventing any trouble. They all seem to agree that the responsible citizens realize that integration has got to be accepted, and that the level of the minority groups must be raised, rather than the standard lowered. This, they hope, can be accomplished without outside agitation.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

a racial nature and information concerning persons who were formerly active in Klan matters in Selma. Close liaison is maintained with police officials, with criminal informants and with eight Negro liaison sources to develop data relating to the racial field.

AT MOBILE, ALABAMA

No Klan group is active at Mobile. The Gulf KKK ceased activity in Mobile in 1958. Leaders of that group at the time were periodically contacted, [redacted] These persons are periodically contacted now to keep abreast of the possibility that the group may reactivate. Mobile has a total of 12 liaison sources in Negro organizations in Mobile and adjoining Prichard, Alabama, who are periodically contacted concerning plans of the Negro clubs.

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The Klan interview program is being continued in order to determine the extent of Klan activity and informant potential of the different members. Any Klan member interviewed and deemed to have informant potential will be made subject of further investigation.

Two agents work full-time on the informant development program, with a view to developing additional Klan informants from among the active Klan members and "cold starts."

The importance of this program is fully appreciated by me and is being given close supervision.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Mobile, Alabama
May 8, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
MOBILE DIVISION

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The information set forth is based on the comments and views of local government officials, police officials, leaders of various racial groups, established sources and public source information and pertains to the racial situation as of the time the comments and views were expressed; the possibility that the racial situation in a particular area may abruptly change at any time must be taken into consideration.

MOBILE, ALABAMA.

The Mobile City Chamber of Commerce population figures as of December 31, 1965, reflect the city population as 202,779. The breakdown is as follows:

White	67.50%
Negro	32.36%
Others	.14%

The Mobile County population as of the same date was 314,321. The breakdown is as follows:

White	67.72%
Negro	32.13%
Others	.15%

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-17-82 BY [redacted]

b6
b7C

157-6-61-1457
ENCLOSURE

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MOBILE DIVISION

Mobile City Chamber of Commerce figures reflect the estimated population of the City of Mobile at the present time as 233,000 and the estimated current population of Mobile County as 356,000. No racial breakdown is available for these estimated figures.

General Racial Conditions

In the Democratic Party Primary run-off election held on May 31, 1966, in Mobile County two Negroes were defeated by two white opponents. Clarence H. Montgomery was defeated in his bid for the state legislature and Dr. W. L. Russell was defeated in his bid for a place on the Mobile County School Board.

The June 11-12, 1966, issue of the Southern Courier, a weekly newspaper published at Montgomery, Alabama, reported that the all-white Toulminville Methodist Church in Mobile, AL had merged with the all-Negro Warren Street Methodist Church in Mobile effective June 5, 1966. The article reported that all but about 35 of the white members of the Toulminville Methodist Church left the congregation. Rev. Dallas Blanchard, white, of the Toulminville Church reported receiving a few threatening phone calls and said that an insurance company had cancelled policy on the building following the merger. The church was able to get new insurance, and it was expected that the church would stay integrated.

During June 1966 John L. LeFlore, Director of Case Work for the Citizens Committee and Clarence H. Montgomery, Mobile County Coordinating Committee for Voter Registration, advised that a young Negro male had contacted them by phone indicating that unless the job situation improved the young Negro males of Mobile might take up a protest action and do something themselves. LeFlore had the caller identify himself as (First Name Unknown) Thornton. LeFlore told Thornton that the local shipyard needed some additional labor and if Thornton would show up the following morning with some friends LeFlore would see that he was put to work in the shipyards. LeFlore heard no more from Thornton and concluded that Thornton

did not want a job but was only trying to stir up trouble. [redacted]

On July 5, 1966, [redacted] Mobile County Movement, an organization affiliated with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), advised he had received a report that Mrs. Dorothy Williams and Jerry Pogue, Negroes of Prichard, Alabama, had been instructing young Negro boys and girls in the making of gas bombs, during meetings being held in Mrs. Williams' home, 702 North Craft Highway. Chief of Police Dan Davis of Prichard verified having heard these rumors. b6 b7C b7D

On June 14, 1966, [redacted] advised that he had verified that these meetings at Mrs. Williams' home had been discontinued because she knew that [redacted] and the police department were checking on her. He said that after these meetings were discontinued the chance of militant civil rights demonstrations in Prichard were lessened.

In July, 1966, Lt. Tom Nelson, Juvenile Division, Mobile Police Department, reported that [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]

On July 28, 1966, J. L. LeFlore advised that

petitions had been filed on behalf of the Citizens Committee and the Non-Partisan Voters League, Negro organizations, requesting the elimination of racial segregation in the Mobile City Jail, the Mobile County Jail and the Mobile County Detention Home.. In April, 1967, LeFlore advised that he had been informed that the city jail and the county jail could be expected to voluntarily desegregate but that it would be necessary to file a suit in court to secure desegregation of the county detention home.

The September 3, 1966, issue of the Mobile Register reported that for the Fall of 1966 school term, an additional 114 Negro students were scheduled to enter 12 formerly all-white schools in Mobile bringing the current total of Negroes in previously all-white schools to 147.

No trouble or disturbances were reported in connection with the opening of the desegregated schools in Mobile County in September, 1966. Captain William L. Lami, Mobile Police Department Intelligence Unit, had advised on September 14, 1966, that the only places where it was thought that trouble might occur in the school desegregation were at Vigor High School and Bienville Elementary School, both in Prichard. Police checked these schools closely and no disturbance occurred.

On November 22, 1966, Captain William Lami advised that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had begun picketing the A & P Grocery Store on Springhill Avenue in Mobile. One picket at a time was being used, and no disturbance was being expected in connection therewith. He said the picketing was in an effort to obtain further job opportunities for Negroes. He advised that on December 2, 1966, the picketing had been discontinued without any disorder. The Mobile Beacon, a weekly newspaper published at Mobile, reported in the December 3, 1966, issue that Dr. R. W. Gilliard, President, Mobile NAACP, had said that the drive for Negro employment opportunities would continued but indicated a settlement was being made with the A & P Store. The January 14, 1967, issue of the Mobile Beacon reported that the NAACP

MOBILE 44-4.

had announced that picketing of A & P Store had been stopped after the store agreed to employ personnel on a non-discriminatory basis.

According to an article in the December 17, 1966, issue of the Mobile Beacon seven suits had been filed by Negroes in Mobile in Federal Court charging seven eating establishments with discrimination against Negroes.

[redacted] the Mobile County Movement, advised on December 29, 1966, that there had been a potentially explosive situation in Prichard following publicity in the Mobile Beacon alleging mistreatment of a Negro woman, Helen Winston, by Prichard Police Officer T. R. Lee. [redacted] said a number of young Negroes were angered by the reported mistreatment and urged protest action against the Prichard Police Department. [redacted] had the Negro youths hold off until he could check the matter, and he verified that the Negro woman had been drunk and had been beaten by her brother who had called the Police Department to arrest her. He said that when Officer Lee tried to arrest her for being drunk, she spit on him after which Lee slapped her. When [redacted] reported the true facts to the Negro youths, the situation calmed down and it was agreed that Lee had not mistreated the Negro woman.

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[redacted] advised in February, 1967, that the Mobile County Movement would sponsor a county-wide meeting during March, 1967, at which it is expected that various civil rights group of Mobile County will be invited to participate. They will discuss the conditions in the ~~State~~ City of Mobile, Mobile County and the Mobile area. During March, 1967, [redacted] advised that this meeting had been postponed due to his illness. [redacted] said that whenever the meeting is scheduled he will invite Rev. Martin Luther King to appear, but he realized King very likely would not be present.

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The Mobile Beacon issue of March 18, 1967, reported that Rev. Joseph E. Lowrey of Birmingham, spoke

to a mass meeting at Mobile on March 12, 1967. He noted that much progress has been made in recent years in the Negroes' position in the matter of public accommodations but said that in reference to employment, education and administration of justice "tokenism" is the mark and sign of progress.

According to the April 15, 1967, issue of the Mobile Beacon, Negro groups had urged parents of Negro children to transfer their children to previously all-white schools in larger numbers before the April 15, 1967, transfer deadline. J. L. LeFlore has advised that it is expected that a much larger number of Negroes will attend integrated schools in this coming year following the court order calling for complete integration of Mobile Public Schools.

Current Evaluation of Violence Potential

On May 1, 1967, Captain William L. Lami, Intelligence Unit, Mobile Police Department, advised that the racial situation in the Mobile area continues to be calm and peaceful, and there is no information to indicate that any mob violence or racial disturbances will occur in Mobile. Negro leaders John L. LeFlore, Clarence H. Montgomery, [redacted] have supported the position of Captain Lami in this regard. b6 b7C b7D

Identities of Organizations Involved in Local Racial Situation MOBILE, ALA.

1. The Citizens Committee

2. Non-Partisan Voters League.

These two organizations have approximately the same membership. The Citizens Committee concerns itself primarily with civil rights matters and the Non-Partisan Voters League is primarily political in nature. They oppose direct action such as demonstrations or sit-ins.

3. Mobile County Coordinating Committee for Voter Registration

This group is part of a state-wide voter registration group.

4. Mobile County Movement

This group is a local organization which is affiliated with the SCLC of Atlanta.

5. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

The NAACP is active in voter registration matters and is concerned with the problems of the Negro people in general.

6. Mobile County Citizens Council (MCCC)

This group was organized in August, 1963, and has engaged in limited activity. Its stated purpose is the defense of the South in Purity and Integrity of the races by adequate police action.

Identity of Leaders and Individuals Involved

1. The Citizens Committee

Rev. C. A. Tunstell is Chairman and Bishop William T. Phillips is Vice Chairman of this group. John L. LeFlore is Director of case work and the principal officer of this group.

2. Non-Partisan Voters League.

Henry C. Williams is Chairman of the Board, Raymond Scott is President and Rev. William T. Smith is Vice President. John L. LeFlore is Director of case work for this group, and its most active officer.

3. Mobile County Coordinating Committee for Voter Registration

MOBILE COUNTY COORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR VOTER REGISTRATION

Clarence H. Montgomery, Barber, [redacted] MOBILE, ALA. is Chairman of this group, and Frank P. Thomas who is publisher of the Mobile Beacon newspaper is Treasurer of this group. MOBILE, ALA

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4. Mobile County Movement

[redacted] ALA Jeffrey Lee Davis is President.

5. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

Dr. Robert W. Gilliard, Mobile, ALA is the President of the Mobile Chapter and Rev. Randy L. Davis of nearby Prichard is President of the Mobile County Chapter of the NAACP.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

6. Mobile County Citizens Council

The group had headquarters at 2005 Senator Street and its last published chairman is Arthur Benjamin, electrical contractor. ALA

Existence of Channels of Communication Between Minority Leaders and Local Officials

In 1962, the Mobile Special Advisory Commission consisting of seven white leaders and four Negro leaders was organized and serves to aid the Mobile City Commission.

This group has a special advisory committee of about 35 members, both white and Negro, to study reports of racial matters. Negro liaison with the city commission goes mainly through the advisory commission although individual Negro leaders maintain direct communication with members of the city commission.

Objectives Sought by Minority Community And Possible Points of Contention

Negroes continue to stress voter registration

by Negroes and Negroes are registered by the Board of Registrars without substantial prejudices. Negro leaders have indicated that Negroes are treated substantially the same as whites by the Board of Registrars. Negroes are accepted at local hotels and restaurants, city buses and city parks. Mobile schools are integrated as are Mobile city hospitals. At the present, Negro objectives center around additional voter registration and matters of housing and job opportunities.

Reaction of Leaders and Members of the Community to Minority Demands

Desegregation of numerous facilities in the Mobile area has resulted from direct contact between Negro leaders and management of the individual facilities. The Mobile City Commission has given consideration to complaints presented to it by Negro groups. Captain William L. Lami of the Mobile Police Department has advised that liaison between Negro leaders and city officials and business leaders has resulted in a political climate favoring law and order inasmuch as the Negroes know that they have a city commission with whom they can talk and present grievances.

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
MOBILE DIVISION

SELMA, ALABAMA

Selma, Alabama, is an agricultural-industrial town located in the heart of a soil area of Alabama known as the "Black Belt". The population figures as of September 14, 1964, (Nelson's City Directory) was 34,798. The percentage of the population of Negro and white is 52 per cent Negro and 48 per cent white. There is no other significant minority group in this area.

General Racial Conditions

Regarding incident referred to in the first paragraph under General Racial Conditions in memorandum dated May 12, 1966, wherein it is set forth that on March 9, 1965, Reverend James J. Reeb was clubbed near the Silver Moon Cafe, Mobile confidential informant MO T-1 has advised that within the past year he has had the opportunity to drink with Elmer Cook, one of the individuals arrested for the clubbing of Reeb, and during the evening of drinking Cook identified the wielder of the club, who struck Reeb as William Stanley Hoggle. It is noted that Cook and the Hoggle brothers were tried for the assault on Reeb and were acquitted.

In reference to the incident wherein Viola Gregg Liuzzo was killed in a "night rider" assault on March 25, 1965, in Lowndes County, Alabama, Collie Leroy Wilkins and Eugene Thomas, appealed their convictions in Federal Court, Montgomery, Alabama, to the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals, New Orleans, Louisiana, and it has been announced by the Appellate Court as of April 28, 1967, that the convictions were affirmed. Both Wilkins and Thomas were sentenced to 10 year terms.

During the past year, no demonstrations or picketing has occurred in Selma, Alabama, area with the exception that intense political activity occurred during May, 1966, and November, 1966, regarding the primary and general elections. Sheriff James G. Clark, Jr.

who was opposed by the Negro voters lost to J. Wilson Baker former Selma, Alabama, Public Safety Director in the May, 1966 primary. Subsequently in the general election in November, 1966, Clark ran an intensive "write-in" campaign, however, lost again to Baker by a margin of some 400 votes.

JAMES G. Clark JR. presently maintains an office on Broad Street, Selma, Alabama, where he is mailing out newsletters that are compiled and published by the "American Opinion Book Store", which is a medium utilized by the John Birch Society to issue books and pamphlets supporting the so called "ultra-right wing" view-points.

On November 5, 1966, three days prior to the general election, Stokely Carmichael chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) appeared at Selma, Alabama, utilizing a sound truck. Carmichael and his associates in SNCC visited the predominantly Negro areas of Selma, Alabama, urging support for a complete slate of Negro candidates, who ran on an independent third party ticket. During this activity on November 5, 1966, a [redacted] Negro male from [redacted] who was a SNCC member and who was driving the sound truck double parked on Franklin Street across from the City Hall. He was told to move on by Captain T. L. Pyron of the Selma, Alabama, City Police. An altercation occurred between Pyron and [redacted] resulting in [redacted] arrest. Another member of SNCC, [redacted] Negro male, then began urging a large crowd of Negroes to "go to the City Hall" and "see about our black brother". Carmichael also led a "picketing" type demonstration around City Hall, described by Major Joseph Smitherman as a "snake dance" and both [redacted] and Carmichael were subsequently arrested for "inciting a riot". No "riot" occurred and Major Smitherman was successful in urging dispersal of the crowd. At present time, Carmichael, [redacted] have presented a case before a three judge Federal panel at Selma, Alabama, as of April 25, 1967, wherein they have claimed that Alabama's "anti-riot" statute is unconstitutional as it interferes with the "freedom of speech" guaranteed by the 1st Amendment of the Constitution. The judges presently have taken the case under advisement but

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have assured the City of Selma and the plaintiffs, Carmichael, [redacted] a decision will be rendered prior to May 22, 1967. b6 b7C

Reverend Frederick D. Reese, Negro male, President of the Dallas County Voters League (DCVL) has advised during past contacts on a regular basis that his group which he feels is the representative of the Negro population of Selma, does not desire to engage in demonstration activities. He pointed out that progress is being made through contacts with elected officials and that he has the assurance of the hiring of Negro policemen to the City force within the immediate future. Reese has stated that a [redacted] white female, who appears to be a "lone wolf" in the Civil Rights movement in Selma, Alabama, area has been a disrupting force to good racial relations in Selma. She is supported by SNCC and some of the "more radical" Negro militants who are in the minority in Selma. Reese feels that if [redacted] was to remove herself from the racial activities then racial progress could substantially move forward in Selma. Reese commented that the responsible leadership does not foresee any demonstration type situations in Selma and the only thing that could force the Negroes "back to the streets" would be for the city to refuse to consider "reasonable demands" by Negroes in Selma.

Reverend Reese claimed that the Dallas County Voters League has made tremendous strides in developing effective leadership among Negroes in Selma and he feels this organization is in control among the responsible adult Negroes, however, a certain amount of influence can be exerted among Negro students and Negroes in the age group of 20 to 25 by Stokely Carmichael of SNCC and [redacted] Reese said that at the present time this influence is negligible. b6 b7C

All Selma schools are scheduled for integration completely in all grades 1 through 12 as of September, 1967. No violence has been experienced during the integration of the school system and the integration plan of 4 grades per year was scheduled to be fulfilled as of September, 1967, without recent court decisions which made complete integration of all grades in all school systems mandatory as of September, 1967.

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
MOBILE DIVISION

[redacted] Negro liaison source of the Mobile Division, has advised that [redacted] organized a cooperative among rural farm Negroes in [redacted] and a ten county area called [redacted] An application has been submitted to the office of Economic Opportunity for the funding of this cooperative in the amount of $500,000. [redacted] stated that intensive objections were voiced by local political figures as well as state and federal representatives in Congress to the funding of this cooperative organized measure. [redacted] claimed this has furnished an issue for [redacted] to take to the Negro farmers and she has pointed out to them that although she is attempting to obtain funds to aid them in their "dilemma" the elected representatives have been fighting this funding. [redacted] stated that on April 20, 1967, a meeting was held at the local office of the Lawyers Committee for Constitutional Defense which is headed by Donald Jelinik, white male, wherein issues were discussed. [redacted] claimed that the meeting was not specifically for the support of [redacted] however, Donald Jelinik and [redacted] acted as moderators of the meeting. [redacted] claimed that the meeting was for the purpose of drawing up a questionnaire to be passed out to local Negro farmers and poor people in a large area and these questionnaires would be used to bring "suits against Government agencies" for "unjust practices". [redacted] cited for example "removal of 1600 people from the Welfare rolls of Alabama".

On April 21, 1967, Mayor Joseph Smitherman advised in reference to [redacted] that he did not object to the funding of an organization that could aid in the promotion of better conditions for the poor people and farmers in the ten county "Black Belt" area of Alabama, however, he opposed rigidly the funding of any organization set up by [redacted] He pointed out that he felt in order for the funds to reach individuals who needed the help in their farming venture the funds would have to be administrated by a responsible agency that had the "set up" and the "administrative background" to handle a half a million dollars in funds. Smitherman stated that he did not know whether his objections to [redacted] program or any of the objections voiced by "responsible elected officials" would "carry any weight" in Washington, D. C., however, their objections had been voiced and he was in hopes

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that if the funds were alloted they would be placed in the hands of some responsible agency rather than in the hands of [redacted]

Smitherman contended that by the granting of funds to [redacted] would be in effect financing [redacted] SNCC, and militant groups that were "outside agitators" and individuals who did not have the interest of the poor and the poor farmers at heart. b6 b7C

Smitherman pointed out that the funding of this organization which [redacted] had conceived had been objected to by responsible Negro leaders in Selma, Alabama, such as Reverend Frederick Douglas Reese, Edwin L. D. Moss, and Reverend Prinic Lewis. He stated that he felt sure that these individuals would make their objections known to Washington officials if they were requested to do so.

Smitherman stated that [redacted] organization and their objections to her organization has been a "bone of contention" but at the present time, however, he does not feel that this will lead to any type of demonstration situations in the Selma, Alabama, area.

Current Evaluation of Violence Potential

The following law enforcement officials and elected officials in the Selma and Dallas County, Alabama, area have reported as follows relative to the violence potential:

Sheriff J. Wilson Baker, Dallas County, advised that he does not foresee any immediate danger concerning the racial situation at the present time. He pointed out that he has hired 2 Negro deputies since taking office in January, 1967, and that he has met any "reasonable demands" made by Negro leaders in Selma. He stated that he is still opposed by the "redneck" element in the Selma and Dallas County area, however, they appear to be in a very small minority at the present time and numerous people who formerly opposed him are now "on his side".

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
MOBILE DIVISION

Baker stated that in his opinion the only possibility of any type of racial violence would occur if Stokely Carmichael of SNCC brought groups of "outside agitators" into the Selma area and "stirred up" the young Negro students and young Negroes, however, Carmichael does not appear at the present time to have any type of influence in the Selma area. Baker advised that this for the most part has been eliminated because of the responsible Negro leaders in Selma taking an active part and keeping out those individuals who would "desire violence".

Mayor Joseph Smitherman has advised that he does not believe that Selma, Alabama, possesses any potential at the present time for violence. He pointed out that progress has been made in racial relations in the Selma area and he has had numerous conferences with Reverend F. D. Reese of the Dallas County Voters League and other responsible Negro leaders in reference to "bettering the situation for Negroes in Selma". For an example Smitherman pointed out that a large paving program has been instituted in the Selma area where streets in the Negro district are being paved at the present time, that is a program that heretofore has never been instituted in Selma. He stated also that the matter of hiring Negro policemen has been under discussion with the Negro leaders and he feels that in the near future there will be Negro officers on the Selma Police Department. Smitherman also pointed out that at the present time Frank Farish has accepted the position of being the new Chief of Police. Smitherman stated that Farish is retiring from the Alcohol Tobacco Tax Division of the Federal Government and will take over as of June 1, 1967, of the Selma Police Department. He stated that he felt with the hiring of a former Government official who is cognizant of the racial problem in the Selma area, it will necessarily bring about better relations with the Negroes in Selma as Farish is a law enforcement officer of high standing.

Smitherman stated that the SNCC no longer maintains an office in the Selma area, however, periodically representatives of SNCC will appear in Selma but always seem to be in contact with Donald Jelinik of the Lawyers Committee for Constitutional Defense, which is a subsidiary of the American Civil Liberties

Union. He stated that [redacted] continues to remain in the Selma area and is "foreign in the sight of elected officials".

Smitherman also pointed out that he feels that the insistance of persons like [redacted] and SNCC representatives for a "black power structure" has met with negative results in the Selma area and the responsible Negroes in this area seek only to integrate themselves into the operations of the community as a whole. He stated that he felt this progress is being made and will be made substantially in the future if Negroes do not make "unreasonable demands" which are impossible to be met immediately. b6 b7C

Smitherman pointed out that although persons like [redacted] and SNCC representatives are interested in setting up a public figure as a "image of oppression" he does not feel at the present time that there is any such individual in Selma. Smitherman pointed out that he is firmly convinced this was the reason for Stokely Carmichael organizing the attempted "riot" in Selma in November, 1966, as Carmichael informed him after he was arrested that "you've made a martyr out of me and played right into my hands". Smitherman stated that he feels Carmichael is the type of individual who would like to make him, Smitherman, an "image of oppression".

Reverend Frederick Douglas Reese, President, Dallas County Voters League, advised that he does not see any potential for violence at the present time in Selma. He said that his organization actively supported J. Wilson Baker for sheriff of Dallas County and that he feels that Baker is making a distinct effort to meet with Negro demands and has hired Negro deputies on his staff. He stated that he feels Baker is interested in fair and impartial law enforcement and that Negroes will suffer no indignities under Sheriff Baker as such was suffered under Sheriff James G. Clark. He stated that there is still a militant minority among Negroes in the Selma area, however, these persons do not exert any influence upon the general Negro population of Selma and, therefore, are not able to organize any type of demonstration or other activities that might lead to violence. Reese pointed out that some of the Negroes who are connected with his organization have been "a little disappointed" with Mayor Smitherman and

their demands for police officers from the Negro population have not been met at the present time. However, they recently held a conference with the newly appointed Chief of Police Frank Farish, and they feel certain that Negro police officers will be hired after Farish takes office on June 1, 1967. Reese pointed out that he feels this will be a significant break-through and will seek to eliminate the Negroes suspicion of the all white police force in the Selma area. Reese stated that as long as progress is being continued in bringing the Negro into the "main stream of community life" there will be no demonstration activities and no potential for violence in Selma.

The following Negroes who are considered leaders among the Negro community in Selma have confirmed the information furnished by Reverend Reese and have stated that they are still very optimistic about the progress that can be made in Selma, Alabama, regarding community relations among Negroes and whites:

Edwin L. D. Moss, Fathers of Saint Edmond,

[redacted] b6 b7C

Reverend Prinic H. Lewis, Pastor, Brown's Chapel AME Church, Sylvan Street, Selma, Alabama;

Amelia P. Boynton, Negro Insurance and Real Estate Agent, Franklin Street, Selma, Alabama;

Joseph Yelder, Principal, R. B. Hudson High School, Negro high school located on Summerfield Road, Selma, Alabama

MO T-1, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised there is no active Ku Klux Klan Unit in Selma, Alabama. He stated there are individuals in the Selma area that at in sympathy with the Ku Klux Klan, however, they have not actively organized into any type of Klan unit and there has been no public rallies held by the Klan in the Selma area within the past several months. Informant stated

that even during the racial situation that occurred January through March of 1965, there did not appear to be any white hate-type organization opposition to the racial activities in Selma. He stated that he felt some of this was due to the fact that a number of Klansmen had been taken into a posse formed by Sheriff James G. Clark and thereby Clark eliminated them acting on their own to oppose racial activities. He stated that although the posse was a controversial thing he felt it nevertheless served the purpose in "getting the Klan off the streets".

Identities of Organizations Involved in Local Racial Situations

1. Dallas County Voters League (DCVL)

This is a local Negro group in Selma, Alabama, organized primarily to engage in voter registration activity, however, since the primary and general elections of May and November, 1966, have reverted to taking a stand on requesting the hiring of Negro policemen and Negro sheriff's deputies. They have also requested the hiring of Negro sales personnel among retail merchants groups in the Selma area and to some extent these demands have been met and there have been a few Negro sales personnel hired by stores in the Selma area.

2. Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

This organization formerly maintained an office in the Selma area, however, the office is out of existence at the present time and their telephone has been disconnected. SNCC representatives periodically appear in the Selma area but are in contact with Donald Jelinik of the Lawyers Committee for the Constitutional Defense and [redacted] b6 b7C

3. Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

This group is a national organization which has a representative in the Selma area known as Albert Turner. Turner is described as being the project director for central Alabama, however, he has not been involved nor has the organization

MARION, ALA.

as such been involved in any type of activity in the Selma area for several months.

Identities of Leaders and Individuals Involved

1. DCVL (DALLAS COUNTY VOTERS LEAGUE)

The principal officer of this group is Reverend Frederick Douglas Reese (REV. FREDERICK D. REESE), President. The power behind the organization has in the past come from Mrs. Amelia P. Boynton (REV. F. D. REESE), a local Negro insurance agent, however, she has not been active with the DCVL recently and its operations have been handled by Reese. SELMA, ALA.

2. SNCC

At the present time, there is no local SNCC representative in Selma and these persons of SNCC only periodically appear in Selma:

Stokely Carmichael;

[redacted]

The last representative that SNCC had in Selma (OF THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE) was named [redacted] who was a Negro female, however, she is presently married to [redacted] and does not live in the Selma area. MRS. ALA

During the time that [redacted] was maintaining the office of SNCC in Selma, she was closely associated with [redacted] who is presently attempting to organize [redacted] b6 b7C

3. SCLC

The principal officer in the Selma area at the present time is Albert Turner, Negro male, from Marion, Alabama, who is considered to be the State Project Director for Central Alabama. Turner has a contact telephone in the Selma area but does not appear to be active in the racial field within the past several months except that he is in constant contact with [redacted] who claimed to be a

[redacted] of SCLC at one time, however, Mrs. Amelia P. Boynton has stated that Doctor Martin Luther King has disavowed any connection with [redacted] and that she does not represent SCLC in Selma, Alabama. b6 b7C

Existence of Channels of Communication Between Minority Leaders and Local Officials

At the present time there appears to be good communication between Negro and elected white officials in Selma. The white officials for the most part have taken the attitude that in order to solve problems they must have conferences and communications between local Negro leaders and the city and county officials. Numerous conferences have been held between the local Negro leaders and elected officials and at the present time there appears to be a satisfactory working agreement among both groups.

Objective Sought by Minority Community and Possible Points of Contention

1. Public Accommodations

There is no contention in reference to public accommodations at the present time in Selma and the restaurants in Selma area have agreed to serve and are serving Negroes. There has been 2 or 3 private clubs organized that do not serve Negroes and are operated on a strictly "private" basis.

2. Voting

At the present time there is no contention relative to voting matters in the Selma area and Reverend F. D. Reese of the Dallas County Voters League stated that he feels the potential Negro voting strength has been registered to vote and with this voting strength they will be able to voice an opinion in public affairs and to elect those individuals who will be sympathic towards the Negro viewpoint in Selma.

3. Equal Housing

There has been no demonstrations relative to equal housing in Selma. Selma has no zoning laws that places the

Negro in any ghetto-type area and they live in all parts of the city. The Negro in Selma is not separated by areas and this does not appear to be a issue where contention would arise.

4. Schools

The schools in the city of Selma have all elected to integrate all 12 grades by September, 1967. There has been no demonstration relative to schools, however, court decrees have opened up Selma and Dallas County, Alabama, school systems to complete integration and there has been no demonstration organized for the purpose of insisting on integration in the school system.

5. Police Brutality

This issue appeared as a situation of contention in 1965 at Selma, however, since Sheriff James G. Clark has been voted out of office and J. Wilson Baker has assumed the position of sheriff in Dallas County the police brutality issue no longer plays any part in Negro demands. There has also been progress made in the hiring of Negroes on law enforcement agencies.

Reaction of Leaders and Members of the Community to Minority Demands

In January through March, 1965, numerous demonstrations were held in the Selma, Alabama, area. This was brought about by the resistance of elected white officials to Negro demands. During 1966 intensive political activity was engaged in by Negro groups in the Selma area and as a result Sheriff James G. Clark was replaced in office by J. Wilson Baker. At the present time there has been avenues of communications opened to Negro leaders to discuss anything they desire with the elected white officials in the Selma area and progress has been made to the extent that 2 Negro deputies have been hired by the Dallas County Sheriff's Office. There is also an indication that in the near future, Negro policemen will be hired.

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
MOBILE DIVISION

There are three or four large industrial firms presently operating in the Selma area that are considered to be "equal opportunity employers" which has opened up the employment situation so that practically any individual in the Selma area who desires to work and wants a job has a job available. This has eliminated demands for the most part by Negro leaders in Selma and it is felt that at the present time there is no situation that has any potential for demonstration-type activities or racial violence.

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
MOBILE DIVISION

MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA:

Statistical information compiled by the Montgomery Area Chamber Of Commerce, Montgomery, Alabama, reveals a population for the City Of Montgomery, according to the 1960 U. S. Census, of 134,390, and a Montgomery County population of 169,210. In their latest capitulation, based on a projected growth of 2½ per cent per year for the city, and a projected growth of 2 per cent per year for the county, the projected population for the City Of Montgomery is 164,343, and for Montgomery County is 194,368, as of January 1, 1967. The white population of the area is estimated at 64.7 per cent, and the non-white population is estimated at 35.3 per cent. The percentage of foreign born in the city is estimated at less than ½ of 1 per cent. Montgomery is the largest city in Central Alabama, and is the third largest city in the state, with Birmingham being the largest, followed by Mobile, and then Montgomery. The Montgomery Corporate Area has an estimated 44,200 households, as of January 1, 1967, with the county having 50,700. Montgomery serves 13 surrounding counties, with a population of 467,618, according to the 1960 U. S. Census. The total employment for the Metropolitan Statistical Area (Montgomery and Elmore Counties), as of January 1, 1967, was 84,300. Montgomery is the County Seat of Montgomery County, as well as the State Capital of the State Of Alabama. It is located on the northern edge of Montgomery County on the banks of the Alabama River. This area is known as the "Black Belt" Region. Incorporated in 1837, it has the distinction of being the first capital of The Confederacy, and is known as the "Cradle Of The Confederacy". Montgomery's working population is engaged in all phases of business, industry, and professional activity, ranging from government service to skilled labor.

General Racial Conditions:

The Year 1966 and the first part of 1967 has been kind to Montgomery, and has given it a reprieve from the turbulent years of the midfifties and the first of the 1960s. This is not to say that all of the problems of the area have been solved, but Montgomery has been spared from the recent demonstrations taking place in the other Southern and Northern Cities. There have been no reoccurrences of violence which

blotted the area's image in 1965, such as the unwanted killing of Mrs. VIOLA LIUZZO, a Detroit, Michigan Housewife assisting and participating in the Selma to Montgomery, Alabama March, which took place in March, 1965. These instances are not new to the area, since it is the general opinion of some of the civil rights leaders that the Civil Rights Movement was conceived in Montgomery, and thus bore the brunt of much of the violence connected with the Civil Rights Movement.

In talking with city representatives, police officials and civil rights workers, the apparent improvement in the racial conditions is credited to several factors. There seems to be, that is up to the present time, good lines of communication between the races. This has brought about a general understanding of the needs and desires of the various peoples. Secondly, there has been a thorough training program at the Montgomery City Police Department instructing the officers on the most desirable manner in which to handle a given situation. One of the main points in this respect that has been stressed is to move in and out of a situation quickly and not remain any longer than is necessary to effectively discharge his duties. And thirdly, the Police Department of Montgomery has maintained liaison with the various groups, which has manifested itself in a general respect for the local policeman and the department.

There have been some demonstrations of very minor proportions. This has taken shape in the form of small demonstrations at several small grocery stores. These demonstrations at four stores concerned itself with unfair employment practices with no attendant problems.

The only other demonstration which could have erupted into a demonstration of major proportions occurred at the Alabama State College. This is a Negro college in the City Of Montgomery. It did not burst out into any demonstrations, nor did it erupt into violence, primarily because there were good lines of communication between the students and the college administration. Although, this particular incident had no racial overtones on the surface, one of the underlying implications which the student body wanted clarified was the matter regarding the possibility that white students, if admitted to the college under the Guidelines

recently set down, would participate in the funds set aside for scholarships.

People of responsibility are hopeful that the city is embarking upon a new era with the bygone days as history.

An official of the Montgomery Police Department, who has practically lived with the Civil Rights Movement, feels that the general racial atmosphere is good, with several trouble spots that will receive constant evaluation as potential trouble points. One area is "Belair" Area, wherein the Alabama State College is located. However, according to this official, they are fortunate in that they have a good student body and an understanding faculty and administrative departments. Provided there is no outside agitation, no real problems are anticipated here. Another area is in the all-Negro apartment project areas, where masses of uneducated, unemployed people live, many with criminal backgrounds. The remaining potential problem spot could be in a newly integrated area, where the established residents attempt to resist any efforts to integrate.

Current Evaluation Of Violence Potential:

Captain WILLIE B. PAINTER, Alabama Department Of Public Safety, was contacted on May 1, 1967, and he advised that, in his opinion, he did not see any real present trouble spots developing in the Montgomery area. He said, of course, if a demonstration were held, then violence could result, if the ingredients were fed into the area. He put this in the terms of outside influence, and, in particular, had reference to the fact that, according to the news media, CASSIUS CLAY is supposed to retire from boxing and become a farmer in Macon County. Tuskegee Institute is located in Macon County. With CLAY's presence in Macon County, he thought it might have a resurging effect on the reorganization of the Nation Of Islam. Even though Tuskegee and Macon County is approximately 60 miles from Montgomery, he felt that CLAY's influence would extend to Montgomery.

Captain PAINTER felt that another organization known as [redacted] with [redacted] as the driving force, which is located in [redacted] could generate some trouble which could possibly extend over into the Montgomery area. b6 b7C

Captain PAINTER said that recently WINFRED ~~Y~~ GREEN, associated with the American Friend Service Committee, has been creating a little confusion in Elmore County, and felt perhaps it might be an attempt to draw attention away from [redacted] and her [redacted]

Captain PAINTER said he was only pointing these possibilities out, and he did not mean to infer that these areas could be sources for violence in the Montgomery area. In fact, he said he does not anticipate any trouble or violence, nor does he see any on the horizon.

Major WILLIAM JONES, Chief, Investigation And Identification Division, Alabama Department Of Public Safety, Montgomery, Alabama, advised on May 1, 1967 that while he agrees with Captain PAINTER in principal, he does not anticipate any violence from any of these groups in the foreseeable future. He pointed out that he felt these individuals and organizations were sufficiently removed from the City Of Montgomery to really bring any influence to bear on the local population. He said, to his knowledge, these three organizations are not operating in the Montgomery area.

Major JONES said the major source of concern to him is the reopening of the schools in Montgomery in September, 1967. He said, in his opinion, he is hopeful that the reopening will come off without incident; but he also pointed out that tempers could flair up and unguarded comments made by various individuals could create an explosive situation.

Lieutenant PAUL J. DUMAS, Montgomery Police Department, Montgomery, Alabama, who handles racial matters for the department, advised on May 1, 1967 that he sees two areas wherein violence could erupt, primarily because these two areas, education and equal housing, are very much a personal matter with the individual. Education - because of the strong

feeling for the neighborhood school, resentment by the white populants at the thought of his or her child being taught by a Negro teacher, and the fact that the white community now realizes that even though the schools were separate, they were not equal, both in physical plant and academically. Equal housing - because the people feel that who is their neighbor is a personal matter, that even though a person does not necessarily have to associate with his neighbor, nevertheless, there is some association by virtue of the fact they are neighbors.

With regards to the matter of education, previously mentioned, Lieutenant DUMAS advised on May 5, 1967 that the Governor of Alabama had recently submitted an appropriation to the legislature for funds for private colleges. This year, the appropriations for Tuskegee Institute has been cut off, whereas no appropriations for white colleges have been eliminated. He said that he felt that something like this could generate a situation which could gain momentum and become an explosive situation. He said that in 1965 perhaps 200 students from Tuskegee Institute were transported to Montgomery and participated in a demonstration. He felt that if this continued and the funds were not included for Tuskegee Institute, then there would be possibly an area where there could be some demonstrations and possible violence.

Lieutenant DUMAS said he feels that this transition could be made easier and smoother, provided the city government takes definite stand and becomes actively engaged in the problems and faces up to the responsibility.

Lieutenant DUMAS said there is probably one minor area, that is equal employment, wherein there could be some trouble. However, he feels that tremendous gains have been made in this area, and the white populants have now realized that no serious problem developed therefrom. Lieutenant DUMAS said he is hopeful that this transition may bring those who may be prone to violence to realize that the change in education and housing can be done without violence, as it has been in employment.

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
MOBILE DIVISION

Lieutenant DUMAS said that he has found a very effective way in handling the various racial groups. This has been through meeting with them, hearing their side, and then taking the position that we have the problem, now how do you propose to settle it, rather than taking the position of defending the status quo. Lieutenant DUMAS said that by handling the problem in this manner, and by keeping the communication lines open at all times, he believes that Montgomery will be free of any serious violence and is hopeful that none of a lesser nature will arise.

Mrs. JOHNNIE R. CARR, 720 South Hall Street, Montgomery, Alabama, and President of the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA), 714 Dorsey Street, Montgomery, Alabama, was interviewed on May 3, 1967, because she is President of the MIA and affiliated with the NAACP. It was felt that she would have a good working knowledge of the feeling of the Negro community and could best point out certain trouble areas.

She said that better housing is one of the major problems facing the entire city for the Negro population. She said in many cases this area is deplorable, wherein people of her race are existing in buildings not suitable for the minimum of comfort. This has occurred in some cases due to the routing of interstate highways, in which cases the people have been moved from one slum area to another. In the area where housing is opening up to the Negro, he is being charged considerably more than the property is worth, and at a price which the Negro can never hope to pay off. In the area where new housing is being constructed, the building codes are not being adhered to, resulting in a double standard in the construction. She said she feels that the same building code should be enforced in the construction of housing for Negro as that for the white.

Another major problem area pointed out by Mrs. CARR is in obtaining equal justice and the treatment of Negroes in the courts. She said this is no problem in the federal courts, but when it comes to the state and local courts, it is of a different matter. She said if all people were treated the same in the courts, then this would eliminate a sore spot.

An area of lesser importance but yet of considerable importance was equal job opportunities, especially in the field of state jobs. She said their people need to be upgraded into some of the whitecollar jobs. She pointed out that there are plenty of Negroes who are well-educated who could fill some of these state jobs, and, in doing so, would exhibit to the Negro community that this is your government also.

Mrs. CARR said that the one big problem they have is convincing what she called the "power structure" in the city that what they want to do is not lower the standards but to bring the Negro community up to the same level as that enjoyed by the whites.

She said that considerable gains and understanding have taken place in the city government under the leadership of Commissioner L. B. SULLIVAN; however, she was quick to point out that he was defeated during the recent city elections, and she is fearful that conditions will revert to the era of the early 1960s.

She said that she did not think there would be any violence, and she foresees no problems that could not be solved, provided the channels of communication are kept open and a concerted effort be made to improve the conditions, rather than a token effort be made.

Identities Of Organizations Involved
In Local Racial Situations:

During the conversations with Mrs. CARR and Lieutenant DUMAS, they advised that the major Negro civil rights organizations in Montgomery are:

1. Montgomery Improvement Association
2. NAACP
3. Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
4. Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
MOBILE DIVISION

According to Mrs. CARR, the MIA is an affiliate of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). The NAACP serves as the legal arm for the MIA. Also, in the event of any demonstrations, the NAACP moves in and takes control of the local unit (MIA), and then all decisions are rendered by the staff of the NAACP. The purposes and aims of the MIA are parallelled with that of the NAACP. The NAACP maintains a field representative in Montgomery. She said that the SCLC has no representative in the area, and does not know of anyone representing the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

Also active in the Montgomery area is a unit, or klavern, of the United Klans Of America, Inc., Knights Of The Ku Klux Klan, (UKA), as well as the Montgomery County White Citizens Council. Both of these organizations state that they are strongly advocates of state rights and are of the right wing, or conservative, element. There has been no information developed indicating persons who are members of the Montgomery County White Citizens Council as being active in any violence.

Concerning the local klavern of the UKA, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that this unit is now meeting in Prattville, Alabama, which is located across the Alabama River in Autauga County, some 20 miles from Montgomery. It has a present membership of about 100 members, with about 15 to 20 regular members.

Identities Of Leaders And
Individuals Involved:

1. MIA MONTGOMERY IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION

The President is Mrs. JOHNNIE R. CARR; Vice President is Reverend SAMUEL McGHEE; and Second Vice President is Mrs. ERNA ALLEN.

2. NAACP NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

There is, according to Mrs. CARR, a Field Representative, who is Mr. E. D. NIXON.

3. SNCC

ALA

According to Mrs. CARR, there is no staff member in the Montgomery area and very few members.

4. SCLC SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

According to Lieutenant DUMAS, there is a staff member known to him as [redacted] b6 b7C

5. UKA

The principal officers of [redacted] and [redacted] are [redacted], the Exalted Cyclops, [redacted] the Kligiff (Vice President).

Existence Of Channels Of Communication Between Minority Leaders And Local Officials:

Various city and state officials have stated that open channels of communication exist between the various population communities. The city commission's biracial committee, consisting of 45 white representatives and 45 Negro representatives, is functioning well. Even though Mrs. CARR said that she felt this was a tool of the "power structure", she did admit that much good had been accomplished, and that it has been an excellent vehicle to keep the communication lines open, her point being in this connection that the biracial committee should be more representative of the Negro by Negroes who know their particular problems.

Objectives Sought By Minority Community And Possible Points Of Contention:

The main objectives voiced by the Negroes in the Montgomery area during the past year seems to be in better

MO 157-570

Identity of Sources Used in Enclosed LHM:

MO T-1 is [redacted]

Informant Coverage in Localities Involved:

AT MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

There are presently seven approved racial informants in Montgomery, namely,

[redacted]

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b7D

In addition there is one probationary informant being operated in Montgomery, namely,

[redacted]

Also, Mobile has one racial confidential source at Montgomery, namely,

[redacted]

As indicated above, close liaison is maintained with the Montgomery PD, with the Department of Public Safety and with four Negro liaison sources at Montgomery, from whom information is obtained concerning the racial situation. Two agents are working full-time on Klan and racial matters, and the program includes interviews with Klan leaders and Klan members to determine the extent of Klan activity and to determine informant potential.

AT SELMA, ALABAMA

The U. S. Klans was formerly active in Selma several years ago, [redacted] Investigation has not reflected any recent Klan activity in Selma in recent years, but this informant furnishes information of

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